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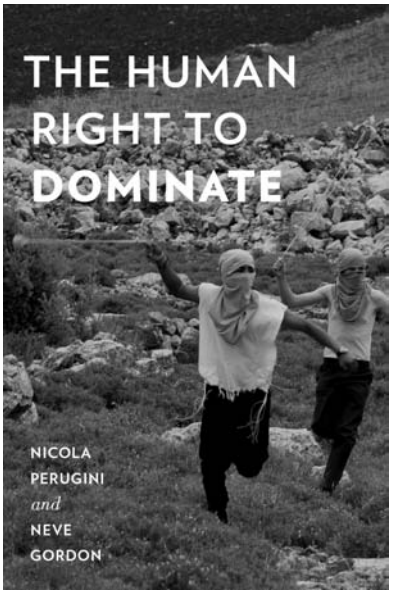


The Human Right to Dominate, by Nicola Perugini and Neve Gordon. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 216 pages. $99.00 cloth, $24.95 paper. E-book available.

REVIEWED BY JAMES EASTWOOD

In recent years, Palestine has become one of the world's most prominent human rights causes, attracting the attention of an array of international human rights observers. This is often celebrated as a major advance for the Palestinian cause and a crucial means for achieving Palestinian liberation. However, in their new book, Nicola Perugini and Neve Gordon sound a major note of caution regarding this development. Instead, they emphasize the myriad ways in which human rights can become bound up with practices of domination, often advancing the interests of the powerful and facilitating violence and dispossession against the oppressed. This ostensibly counterintuitive claim is intended to provoke the legalistic and professionalized world of human rights work, which they argue remains elite-driven and too inaccessible to popular mobilizations. The aim is to prompt a rethinking of the place of human rights discourse in political struggle.

In writing this book, Perugini and Gordon build on earlier work pursued individually and focused particularly on Israel's colonization of the occupied Palestinian territory. However, their intellectual partnership in this current work succeeds not only in offering crucial insights into the Palestinian case but also in making an important theoretical argument with global ramifications.

The authors attack the idea that human rights are either neutral or counterhegemonic. Human rights, they claim, are not and cannot be an abstract terrain separate from the concrete exercise of political power. To believe otherwise indulges "the illusion of the original" (p. 15), according to which human rights can be depoliticized and pursued in a notionally pure form. Likewise, they criticize what they call "the hydraulic model" (p. 13) of human rights, which holds that advances in human rights always come at the expense of the powerful.

Journal of Palestine Studies Vol. XLVI, No. 2 (Winter 2017), p. 91, ISSN: 0377-919X; electronic ISSN: 1533-8614. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2017.46.2.91.

Instead, Perugini and Gordon notice the growing tendency for dominant actors, not least Israel, to claim the mantle of human rights in pursuit of their agendas. Thus, conservative actors have begun to emulate the language and tactics of liberal human rights campaigners in a process of "mirroring" and "convergence" (p. 7). When this happens, the originally intended beneficiaries of human rights are stripped of their protected humanity and are instead portrayed as threats to the human rights of the powerful, a process the authors call "inversion" (p. 8).

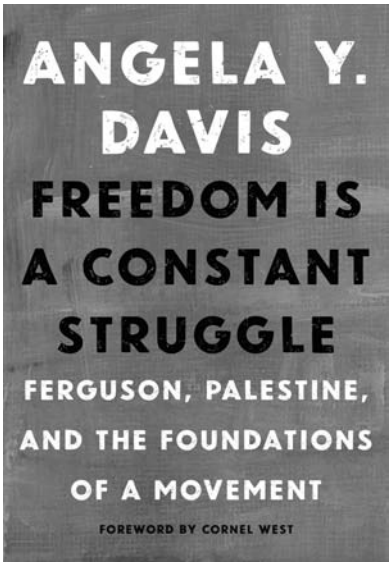
The main content of the volume is taken up with a detailed demonstration of these arguments in the context of Palestine. The authors show how Israel has used the memory of the Holocaust to position itself as a human rights victim, and how Palestinian human rights advocacy against occupation has paradoxically helped to normalize domination by emphasizing minor improvements rather than structural transformation (chapter 1); how Israel has pressured nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and the United Nations (UN) into greater consideration of human rights violations against Israelis in their reports on recent Israeli military campaigns (chapter 2); how international humanitarian law has been contorted to provide justifications for the killing of Palestinian civilians (chapter 3); and how a new breed of settler NGOs have sought to legitimize the further colonization of Palestinian land by framing their activities as in defense of the human rights of Israeli settlers (chapter 4).

The text is cogently argued, thought-provoking, and filled with fascinating detail. Perugini and Gordon provide a convincing demolition of the idea that human rights stand above politics, and that they always work in defense of the oppressed. Instead, the authors call on us to recognize the inevitably political nature of human rights–based mobilizations. However, this is not in order to discredit human rights altogether, but rather to make more effective use of them. In the concluding chapter, the authors call for a more politicized and popular version of human rights mobilization which eschews the legalism and professionalism of major human rights NGOs, citing the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement as the most powerful alternative model.

This is unquestionably a powerful conclusion. Yet it also raises questions. First, while it is clear that the authors intend to criticize the work of major international human rights organizations, the precise scope of their criticism is left unclear. For example, it is strange that the authors do not engage at all with the work of Richard Falk, former special rapporteur on Palestine to the UN, whose conception of human rights advocacy has long been inseparable from a clear political vision. They also do not fully address debates within the Palestinian human rights community, as elaborated in the work of George Bisharat, Lisa Hajjar, Elian Weizman, and others, regarding the efficacy of cause lawyering (the strategic use of legal casework for political ends), where the risks of legalism are already well appreciated.

Second, one wonders about the limits of the politicization of human rights which the authors recommend. As they recognize, what makes human rights discourse so effective as a mobilizing tool is its appeal to seemingly universal values. Yet a strategy premised on accepting the political relativity of human rights would surely risk corroding this universal appeal. It would also, perhaps justifiably, be open to charges of cynicism. It is reasonable to ask whether the logical conclusion of Perugini and Gordon's arguments might not be the abandonment of a human rights framework after all.

James Eastwood is lecturer in politics and international relations at Queen Mary, University of London. His book *Ethics as a Weapon of War: Militarism and Morality in Israel* is forthcoming with Cambridge University Press.



Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine and the Foundations of a Movement, by Angela Y. Davis. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016. 176 pages. $15.95 paper, $9.99 e-book.

REVIEWED BY NIKHIL PAL SINGH

Angela Davis is one of the most consistent and visionary intellectual activists working to enlarge our understanding of what she terms the "geographies and temporalities" of black freedom struggles. In this short but wide-ranging book of essays, speeches, and interviews primarily conducted in Europe and North America (and finely curated by Frank Barat), Davis offers typically comprehensive thinking on racist state violence in an era of neoliberal globalization. Davis is particularly attuned to the ramified effects of this violence across public and intimate spheres of social life, to the connections across continents needed to confront it, and to the legacies of past movements and struggles that continue to inform the work of human liberation.

Woven throughout these reflections, Davis calls for the development of new vocabularies to grasp the "complexities of racism" in the contemporary period. This includes recognizing the legacy of intergenerational harm extending back to chattel slavery, whose primary institutional locus in the United States today is a prison-industrial complex that houses well over two million people—25 percent of all the world's prisoners, the majority black and brown. It also means naming (and shaming) the police power that kills with similar disproportion, and with impunity, at home and abroad. Davis foregrounds connections of this type, for example, between hyper-incarceration and cruel forms of criminal punishment, secret prisons and torture overseas, and the similar moral and affective valences animating the criminalization of blackness and Islamophobic threat inflation mobilized by the so-called war on terror.

Many of the documents in this book are speeches. Activist and organizer that she is, Davis frequently issues a demand to her readers and audiences: oppositional political thought and action needs to consciously attend to intersections of various kinds—between public and private violence, between struggles to change institutions and to transform the self, and to the tributaries that flow between domestic policing and overseas military violence. In this way, she re-accents the important black feminist concept of intersectionality, amplifying its attention to crosscutting dimensions of race, class, gender, and sexual domination at individual and communal scales, with an equal and insistent emphasis upon the international, transnational, and imperial lineaments of power that egalitarian, anti-racist, and anti-capitalist movements and struggles face in the present moment.

Of particular relevance to the readership of this journal, Davis points to connections drawn by activists around the exercise of militarized police power in Palestine, and in places like Ferguson, where protests against the police murder of Michael Brown in 2014 achieved sustained intensity,

right down to the fact that the same brand of tear gas canister is being used against protesters in each place. She notes that over many years Israeli police have established training partnerships with U.S. police, that the United States subsidizes Israeli military power to the tune of billions of dollars per annum, and that the same transnational security interests, including enormous, Western-based, multinational corporations like G4S are now invested in building walls and cages for our respective peoples, from the West Bank to the Rio Grande. In short, Davis's work helps to highlight how official languages and economies that increasingly dominate a political landscape defined by permanent war and security against "terror" today provide one of the main vehicles and alibis for advancing calculated abandonment and organized dispossession of populations who have long suffered under the terms of racial hierarchy and colonial rule.

An important point here is that racism and colonialism are not only interwoven as constitutive dimensions within the international development of modern capitalist social formations, but have been reworked and updated under globalizing conditions. As Davis notes, this question was historically better understood by black radicals, from W. E. B. Du Bois to the Black Panther Party, than it is today, when we are led to imagine that racial discrimination is primarily a matter of individual attitudes, that colonialism is past, and that existing capitalism is the only horizon of reasonable struggles for justice. Du Bois, whom Davis recognizes throughout this work as a central intellectual forebear, once described colonies as "the slums of the world," that is, places populated by peoples, upon which extractive economies backed by extreme police measures could be given the greatest latitude. Under neoliberal capitalism, this condition is emerging less as an exception than as a modality of rule, everywhere.

Ferguson and Palestine in this way are bellwethers, canaries in the coal mine. Only by connecting struggles in places imagined as discrete will it be possible to recognize and confront these renovated forms of spatial apartheid, and the renewed forms of racial/nationalist supremacy that increasingly hold sway in the shrinking kingdoms of Western prosperity—in the United States, Israel, Britain, and beyond. To do so, Davis writes, will require capacious frames that attend to our salient differences, while never forgetting that justice is everywhere and always indivisible.

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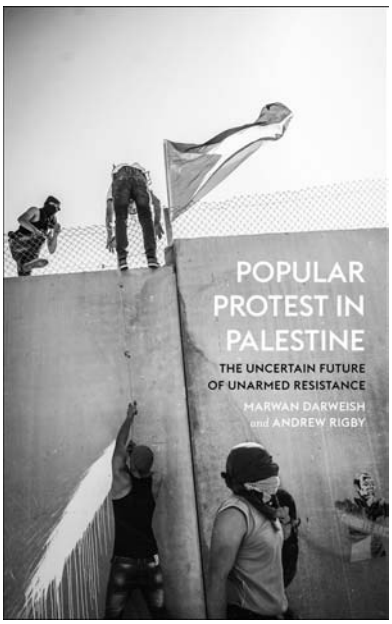
Popular Protest in Palestine: The Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance, by Marwan Darweish and Andrew Rigby. London: Pluto Press, 2015. 224 pages. Cloth $110.00, paper $28.00. E-book available.

REVIEWED BY BEN WHITE

This book is a serious attempt to examine the issue of popular resistance in Palestine, and it does so in an admirably contextualized, historically aware, and detailed fashion. The authors come from a peace studies background: Marwan Darweish is a senior lecturer at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University, while Andrew Rigby is emeritus professor of peace studies and director of the Centre for the Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation at the same university. The pair thus bring incisive knowledge and expertise to the topic at hand, applying lessons from

other struggles to the issue of popular resistance in Palestine. They have both been visiting Palestine since the 1980s, and the book's observations and conclusions owe much to the more than one hundred personal interviews the authors conducted on the ground.



Darweish and Rigby examine a historical sweep from a "time of hope" during the first intifada, "when there was confidence in the power of popular unarmed resistance as a means of bringing an end to occupation," to the waning of that hope and the failings of a new wave of popular resistance directed at stopping the separation wall. The authors aim "to delve deeper into the dynamics of this trajectory by examining the Palestinian struggle against occupation through the lens of unarmed civilian-based resistance" (p. 2).

The book begins with the early chapters of Palestinian resistance during the British Mandate years, chronicling imperial rule, the growing Zionist movement, and a look at how the remaining Palestinians expressed their resistance to the new Israeli authorities. These chapters contain wonderful little stories. In 1949, for example, the Israeli military commander required residents of Umm al-Fahm to celebrate the arrival of the Israeli army by singing and dancing; in response, the women sang songs expressing anger and sorrow.

Darweish and Rigby then turn to an examination of the first intifada, the Oslo era, the second intifada, and events in recent years, assessing political and socioeconomic developments insofar as they prove conducive, or harmful, to popular resistance efforts. Here they identify four conditions necessary for the emergence of collective resistance against the occupation. First, a cohesive sense of solidarity and identity among the affected group; second, an effective leadership able to identify the needs of the people and to address changing conditions; third, a strong "democratic culture" rooted in civic engagement and a commitment to human rights; and fourth, a grassroots base led by community groups and civil society organizations.

While operative in the late 1980s as a backdrop to the first intifada, such conditions were subsequently "undermined and eroded over the two decades of the Oslo Peace Process" to the extent that there is currently "no longer the necessary sociopolitical base for a mass movement of popular resistance in the occupied Palestinian territories" (p. 99). The reasons are complex: social disintegration, the escalating costs of resistance, the appeal of what the authors call "vertical escalation" (that is, the use of violent resistance by a small number of participants in order to exact what is seen as a higher price on Israel), the limited impact of noncooperation on an occupier who does not rely on Palestinian labor, and so on.

The authors also point to the NGO-ization of civil society organizations since the Oslo era whereby Palestinian society has increasingly become overrun by internationally funded NGOs that inevitably adjust their programming to the agenda of their donors. I was reminded of recent efforts by one group, Grassroots Jerusalem, which launched a pioneering crowdfunding campaign precisely

to end its reliance on top-down, international aid. Darweish and Rigby also point the finger at the Fatah-Hamas rift—which has crippled the political coordination necessary for collective action—and the ambivalence of the Palestinian Authority to such a path of confrontation on account of its vulnerability to financial pressure by Israel (and its unwillingness to risk such repercussions).

The book would have benefited, in my opinion, from an analysis of the dynamics of West Bank refugee camps, whose youth-driven resistance would make an interesting point of comparison to the case studies of villages like Bil'in and Nabi Salih, or East Jerusalem neighborhoods like Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah. In addition, the authors acknowledge near the end that the "elephant in the room" is the Gaza Strip, and it would have been interesting to see the dynamics of popular resistance in those conditions explored further.

The book is quite a sobering read, in that it highlights just how many factors are currently set against the Palestinian people's struggle for decolonization and liberation. As the authors acknowledge early on, over the years their "focus changed," in order "to understand why the [popular resistance] movement [since 2002] had failed" (p. 3). Another thought-provoking, though depressing, few pages come when the authors propose no less than fourteen points of difference with the much-cited anti-apartheid movement in South Africa—none of them in Palestine's favor. For example, while the "global anti-apartheid movement took its lead from the African National Congress," in Palestine's case "the PLO is weak and there is not a unified leadership to be followed" (p. 164). Another point made by the authors is that while "the white minority in South Africa needed the Black majority as a workforce"—thus allowing "Black trade unions [to become] a powerful instrument of resistance and pressure"—Israelis, by contrast, "do not need the Palestinians" and are actually "trying to drive them from their land" (p. 167).

Indeed, in their conclusion the authors write that "any rational analysis of the dynamics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will inevitably lead to a pessimistic view of the short-to-medium term future" (p. 171). Unwilling to leave it there, however, Darweish and Rigby suggest that "perhaps now is the time to abandon narrow conceptions of rationality/realism and engage in some optimism of the imagination" (p. 171). The proposed developments necessary—an end to the Fatah-Hamas split, a united political platform, strategies that impose a cost on Israel, and the growth of external support—are a reminder that there is no quick fix. But, as the book also demonstrates, the history of Palestinian resistance, and the work of and inspiration provided by Palestinians today, mean that it is not impossible.

Ben White is a writer, journalist, and researcher. He is the author of *Israeli Apartheid: A Beginner's Guide* (London: Pluto Press, 2009) and *Palestinians in Israel: Segregation, Discrimination and Democracy* (London: Pluto Press, 2012). He regularly contributes to publications such as Middle East Monitor, Middle East Eye, Al Jazeera English, and others.

War against the People: Israel, the Palestinians and Global Pacification, by Jeff Halper. London: Pluto Press, 2015. 296 pages. $100.00 cloth, $25.00 paper.

REVIEWED BY HANINE HASSAN

The militarization of societies is part of a social process involving the mobilization of resources for war and the elimination of risk through securitization. As Jacklyn Cock explains in *Women*

and War in South Africa, "militarization involves both the spread of militarism as an ideology, and an expansion of the power and influence of the military as a social institution."* In the case of Israel, the pervasive ideology of militarism has not only shaped the local but, moreover, it has had an impact on the regional and the international.

In his new book *War against the People,* Jeff Halper investigates the relationship between Israel's military-industrial complex and its occupation of Palestine. He argues that Israel's "field-tested model of control as an integral part of its security politics" (p. 249)—and as a means of addressing endemic problems within a polarized neoliberal global system—enables the state to continue its colonization and occupation of Palestinian lands and bodies in a so-called postcolonial world (p. 1). The strength of his book lies in its documentation of the extensive repertoire of the Israeli arms industry: bionic hornets, dragonfly drones, airborne surveillance, speedboat drones, bombs containing electromagnetic pulse, and intelligence-gathering systems are among the high-tech weaponry, tested on Palestinians, which have turned Israel into a key player in global security politics.

The Israeli military-industrial complex is essential to what Halper calls "global securitization," or the engagement in postconflict stability operations (p. 27), as the dominating neoliberal powers now opt for pacification policies rather than conventional interstate warfare (p. 14). The resulting "securocratic wars" are fought by private security companies as part of a global pacification industry, where Israel has been able to commodify its counterinsurgency techniques by "applying the weaponry and tactics arising from its conflict with the Palestinians to wider global conflicts" (p. 96). Israel's development of niche-filling sophisticated weapons, made possible by international military aid and expertise, has enabled it to position itself as a military partner on parity with others in the Global North (p. 62). Although Halper does not outline why a political transformation toward the privatization of the military has taken place, he correctly positions the Israeli arms industry within a worldwide web of interdependent security doctrines, policies, and diplomatic power plays in the global arms market.

Halper associates Israel's rise as a major producer and exporter of arms and counterinsurgency techniques as a unique selling point to what he terms the "U.S. Global Matrix of Control," which works to impose "full-spectrum dominance and control over an unruly global battlespace" through military operations, war against the people or counterinsurgency operations, and a security-based framing necessary to "sell" pacification to the public (p. 73). While Halper notes that the military-industrial-security complexes of both countries are integrated to form a transnational entity (p. 72),

* Jacklyn Cock, *Women and War in South Africa* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1993), p. 25.

this relationship is ultimately dominated by the United States, which ensures Israel's continuing military dependency in order to maintain a monopoly over global military power.

Halper employs several levels of analysis throughout the book, leaving many underdeveloped. For example, although Halper acknowledges that Israel has learned that "close combat involving ground troops . . . remains an integral part of warfare and counterterrorism" (p. 111), the book largely ignores these combat methods and hyperbolizes the use of high-tech warfare. The question should therefore be to what extent is this shift toward new types of warfare driven by technology and how much of it is imagined. The fantasy of high-tech warfare is not new nor is it limited to the imagination of robotic experts who seek pacification as a counterbalance to demographic resistance. Yet there are many cases—from Palestine to Iraq and Afghanistan—that prove that high-tech weapons alone do not win wars. Halper provides no analysis in the book of the political transformation that underpins this technological drive, nor how this political transformation has reconfigured spatial relations and the question of sovereignty.

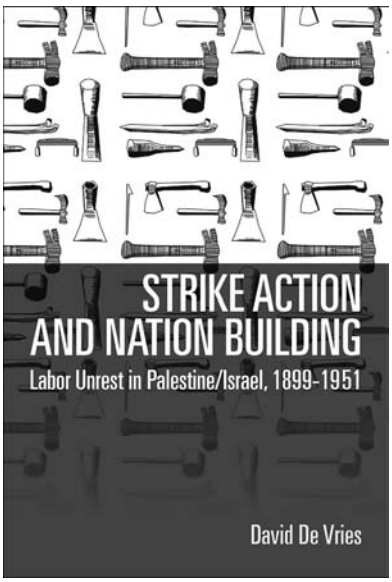
Additionally, Halper discusses Islamist regimes as one of the threats to the world system dominated by the Global North (p. 23). In this equation, Halper neither unpacks the Islamist bogeyman archetype nor discusses Israel's own contribution to global insecurity and destabilization.

Finally, Halper attempts to link Israel's militarization to a global market and not to the essence of the state's peculiar creation. It is concretely Israel's creation as a settler-colonial entity that makes militarization and weaponry crucial to its very existence and expansion. As Glen Coulthard argues in *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), settler-colonial techniques of dispossession continue in modified forms over time, and the modern form of Israel's natural development as a settler-colonial entity is perpetual warfare and militarized accumulation with the aim of pushing the indigenous Palestinian population out. Furthermore, Israel is fundamentally different than other weapons-exporting countries, such as Sweden, Germany, Norway, and the United Kingdom. Although these countries contribute to the destabilization of certain regions, they are not maintaining a settler-colonial state and military occupation, nor are they engaging in wars and insurgencies with neighboring countries.

Israel maintains the safety and freedoms of its Jewish citizens through the continued oppression of the indigenous Palestinian population, who continue to resist Israel's settler-colonial and pacification policies. As Halper notes, highlighting these policies undermines Israel's international status as an expert in securitization and exposes its reliance on *hasbara* to control its public image and whitewash its crimes (p. 84). Halper argues that Israel's ability to dodge accountability for its oppression of Palestinians is linked to its extensive diplomatic and military relationships with 157 countries. Its strategic positioning as one of the world's top arms exporters and surveillance providers, guaranteed by American geopolitical backing, has shielded it from international critique.

Yet, despite Israel's strong lobby arm, worldwide public opinion is pushing more and more toward the condemnation of Israel's lawless behavior. In this shift, Halper's delineation of Israel's global military strategy provides a counternarrative to the Western propensity and sentimentality used to obfuscate Israeli war crimes, and this is the essential contribution of *War against the People*.

Hanine Hassan is a teaching fellow and PhD candidate in Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African studies (MESAAS) at Columbia University.



Strike Action and Nation Building: Labor Unrest in Palestine/Israel, 1899–1951, by David De Vries. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015. 196 pages. $90.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY MAX AJL

Can one understand the history of Mandate Palestine through a chronicle of labor insurgency? And what does this history of labor insurgency tell us about Mandate Palestine? David De Vries's *Strike Action and Nation Building*—which goes a touch beyond the Mandate, into the early years of the new state—addresses itself to those questions. The first answer is yes, in part. The second answer is a fair amount, but not enough. De Vries's history of strikes in Palestine is built around industrial insurgency. For that reason it is primarily a history of Jewish strikes, given the predominance of Jewish wage laborers, especially in those strike-prone arenas of the manufacturing sector. As such, De Vries aims to add an assessment of the articulation between these strikes and nation building to the historiography of labor in Palestine—that is, the way strikes as an expression of workers' self-interest interacted with the construction of a settler-colonial state, which relied on capitalists' funds to build it.

He discusses strikes in four periods. The first was the pre-Mandate period. Strike activity drew on the Jewish immigrants' immersion in European traditions, and occurred against the background of surging Ottoman-area labor unrest. The second was from 1918 to 1930, during which strike activity increased rapidly, and strikes became a recognized part of the repertoire of collective action, with increasing tensions between workers and employers. The third was from 1931 to 1940, as strikes became political in both the Arab and Zionist sectors. During this period strikes also became an object of contention between different Zionist visions—Labor Zionism and Revisionism. Wartime (1941–46) saw the normalization of strikes as a routine area of conflict between primarily Jewish labor and Zionist and British capital. The post-1946 era saw the normalization of strikes as acts in defense of social rights, including the question of the right to strike itself, and what De Vries calls "more principled questions of rights, fairness, and democracy" (p. 97).

For De Vries the strike is not an action which explains itself, but rather a lens to examine how different factions, classes, castes, political institutions, and party organs attempted to redistribute social power to labor (or themselves) and away from capital.

The work powerfully reveals how Labor Zionist parties, figureheads, and institutions viewed strikes as a tool to amass power. For example, De Vries discusses Labor Zionism's nation-building efforts through an examination of the Histadrut, Israel's national trade union federation, founded

in 1920 by the two largest Labor Zionist parties at the time. Histadrut was not really a workers' federation, but a pseudocorporatist entity that was supposed to marshal the workers' collective power in service of its "Zionist, power-driven agendas" (p. 85). What emerges is a devastating portrait of the containment of labor mobilization to balance the needs of workers and the private capital needed to build a Zionist colonial economy. For Labor Zionist parties, and especially for David Ben-Gurion, there was a constant concern with "the tension between what the strikers considered the just causes of the strike . . . and its potential price—the harm it might cause the Jewish master tailors in competition with non-Jewish tailors" (p. 17). If strikes prevented accumulation, then Palestinian artisans and trades might gain, and the Zionist sectors would be unable to achieve centralized economic power, possibly ceasing capital inflows. De Vries skillfully shows how the imperatives of what he calls "nation-building" led political parties to constrain labor and strikes, forcing workers into arbitration and maintaining the productive apparatus. Through his focus on strikes, De Vries constructs a critical history of Israeli Labor Zionism and its associated institutions.

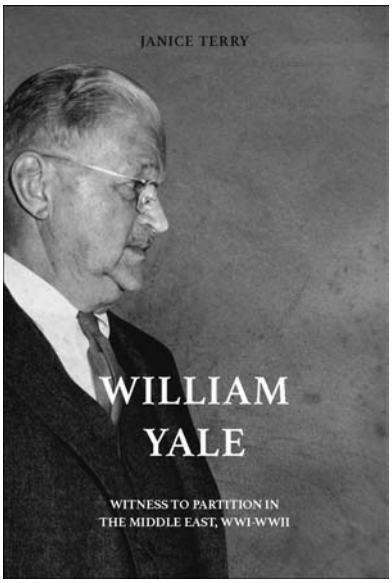
Less convincing, though, is his engagement of the underside of Israeli state building—the destruction of Palestinian society. In part, this is a question of conceptualization. De Vries glosses over the colonial nature of Histadrut, which was charged with coordinating the influx of settlers and ensuring the immigrant flow necessary for colonial-capital state building more broadly, gaining power as a result. Defining Histadrut as not just a labor bureaucracy, but a colonial institution of a special type, would have strengthened De Vries's history.

But his partial engagement is also an effect of how he demarcates the object of study. Focusing on strikes means focusing on Jewish workers and producers. But nation building in a colonial context means not just development but also dispossession. This latter phenomenon receives short shrift. In discussing the Palestinian general strike and lead-up to the Great Revolt of 1936–39, he notes the underlying grievances. However, he says nothing about its base: landless and near-landless peasants facing the threat of further Zionist territorial encroachment, which De Vries euphemizes as "land acquisition" (p. 36). Strikes emerged contrapuntally against a countrywide rebellion, amongst those who could not use the economic leverage of the strike to achieve the aim of averting land dispossession and Zionist primitive accumulation. His articulation of the relationship between the strike as a tactic and nation building becomes clear here—since the overwhelming defeat of the revolt was part and parcel of preparing the ground, quite literally, for colonial state building. The study defines nation building as merely an expansion of Zionist institution. By omitting its underbelly, the framing precludes a proper discussion of colonialism.

Furthermore, what is likely ideological coloration leads De Vries to render the alliance between Zionist settlers and British armed forces, which brought about the defeat of the Great Revolt, as the "perception among town workers that the British authorities had shielded the Yishuv during the rebellion" (p. 62). De Vries's neglect of this power dynamic is symptomatic of a broader erasure of how Zionist "state building" in Palestine depended on metropolitan capital and force, the former of which always flowed for political reasons and allowed the Histadrut to play the role it did. In this the book follows the line of the post-Zionist historians, undercutting some but not all

of Israel's Labor Zionist founding myths. This is an important contribution to Mandate Palestine historiography nevertheless.

Max Ajl is a doctoral student in development sociology at Cornell University, and is a Palestine page editor at *Jadaliyya*.



William Yale: Witness to Partition in the Middle East, WWI–WWII, by Janice Terry. Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2015. 282 pages. $20.00 paper, $10.00 e-book.

REVIEWED BY IRENE GENDZIER

In her biography of oil explorer and U.S. diplomat William Yale, Janice Terry, professor emeritus at Eastern Michigan University, provides a welcome addition to the forthcoming centenary of the Balfour Declaration and the commemoration of the Allied imperial powers' partition plans for the Ottoman Empire. Terry's past work examines the role of lobbies and special interest groups in U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, and researchers seeking to reconstruct U.S. policy in the wake of Ottoman defeat and the Versailles Peace Conference will benefit from her account of Yale's journey into Middle East politics.

Focusing on Yale's time in Palestine, Terry's book further illuminates the history of U.S. foreign policy–making. Unlike apologists for the revival of American empire in the aftermath of 9/11, who justified their global vision in terms of American exceptionalism and the export of democracy, the earlier agents of empire felt no need to justify their goals in terms of universalist language. President Woodrow Wilson's commitment to the principle of self-determination notwithstanding, U.S. policies toward the Middle East in the twentieth century fit the mold of partition and mandatory rule.

Based largely on Yale's papers and unpublished memoir, Terry's study demonstrates that Yale was an active observer and participant in many of the protracted exchanges concerning Palestine and the Arab East in the period surrounding World War I, including his role in the King-Crane Commission. Operating as official and unofficial U.S. representative, intelligence agent, and Standard Oil Company of New York's chief representative in Jerusalem, Yale's fervent defense of U.S. oil interests is among the less well-known aspects of his Middle East experiences.

Yale was also a supporter of Western partition plans in the region, namely the Sykes-Picot agreement of 2 May 1916 and the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917—two of the more notorious arrangements made in defiance of the expressed wishes of the local populations. The first was an agreement between the British and French, to which the Tsarist government acceded—until such time as the Soviet regime assumed power—for the mutually beneficial division of the former Ottoman Empire; the second a declaration issued by a member of His Majesty's Government, Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild, whereby the former "view[ed] with favour" the establishment of a

national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Between these agreements, there was also the June 1916 correspondence between Sharif Hussein and Henry McMahon mapping the future independent Arab state amid other arrangements.

Among studies that reported on Yale's diplomatic role, Terry uses Harry N. Howard's comprehensive account of *The King-Crane Commission: An American Inquiry in the Middle East* (Khayats, 1963) as a valuable source. According to Howard, Yale was part of the team that prepared the King-Crane Commission Report of 1919 for President Wilson. Howard observed that Yale's support for the Balfour Declaration, the British Mandate in Palestine, and French rights in Lebanon and parts of Syria, did not prevent him from recognizing the forces favoring independence. Yet, as Terry points out, Yale's view of the Arab world was Orientalist in character, generally denigrating of its political and intellectual elites. Terry claims that Yale did not believe in "the existence of liberal feelings among Arabs, concluding that the majority of educated Muslims were 'profoundly fanatical, profoundly Islamic'" (p. 128).

As for the Balfour Declaration and the Zionist movement's impact in Palestine, the focus of Terry's account, Yale's views evolved from initial support to widespread criticism in the period surrounding Israel's emergence in 1948. He decried the extent of public ignorance and unconditional U.S. support for the Jewish state, persuaded that the absence of public awareness of conditions in Palestine and the long range impact of pro-Zionist policy left the door open to domestic pressures. He was thus led to conclude that "the United States 'cannot afford to adopt a policy based on domestic political expediency'" (p. 216). He did not consider the impact of U.S. oil policy in the formation of U.S. foreign policy and the politics of the Middle East. Yale made no connection between such policy and U.S. support for Israel.

Neither Yale, in his memoir, nor Terry discuss U.S. primary sources relevant to the formation of U.S. foreign policy in the period leading up to 1948, yet these sources reveal a history in which access and control over Middle East oil was a critical feature of U.S. policy in the Middle East, including U.S. policy toward Israel. In short, the U.S. record undermines the exclusive role of lobbies in the making of Middle East policy, and instead sheds light on the power of the military-industrial complex in Washington's policy-making circles.

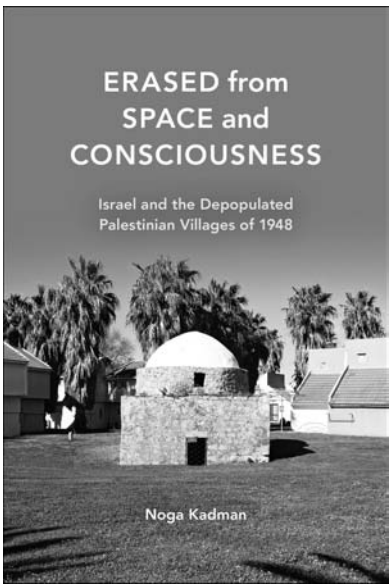
Irene Gendzier, professor emeritus at Boston University, is the author of *Dying to Forget: Oil, Power, Palestine and the Foundations of U.S. Policy in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) and *Notes from the Minefield: United States Intervention in Lebanon and the Middle East, 1946–1958* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; 2006).

Erased from Space and Consciousness: Israel and the Depopulated Palestinian Villages of 1948, Noga Kadman. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. 256 pages. $85.00 cloth, $32.00 paper, $31.99 e-book.

REVIEWED BY RANA BARAKAT

First published in Hebrew in 2008, Israeli researcher Noga Kadman's *Erased from Space and Consciousness* explores how Zionist ideology has enabled Israel's systemic erasure and appropriation

of the Palestinian landscape. Beginning by mapping the Palestinian villages depopulated during and after the Nakba war, Kadman outlines Israel's methods of erasure, propagated under the "Zionist ideal of 'Judaization'" (p. 3), through the state's official (re)naming, mapping, and establishment of communities or public sites in areas near or on the depopulated villages. In addition to her on-the-ground research (which benefited from her expertise as an officially licensed tour guide), Kadman uses a variety of official archives, including those of the Jewish National Fund, the Israeli Ministry of Tourism, and the Israel Nature and Parks Authority, to reconstruct the Zionist project as a narrative of destruction and confiscation. Through five chapters, Kadman traces Israel's history of violent erasure and concludes that "instilling the depopulated villages in the Israeli public's awareness and bringing these villages back into the history and geography of the land" (p. 149) might offer a path toward reconciliation for both Israelis and Palestinians.



She begins and ends the book with her own experience, recalling her grade school trips to the ruins of Lifta, a Palestinian village in northwest Jerusalem. Kadman outlines how visiting the village affected her thinking and awareness of Israel's origin myths and the Palestinian Nakba, and then uses her own "awakening" to discuss national reconciliation and to highlight the potential that Israeli recognition of the Palestinian Nakba might offer for the future. Presumably as a step toward this kind of reconciliation, Kadman produces a meticulously documented narrative of Israeli memory creation, reconstructing the map of the Palestinian Nakba through an understanding of Israeli-Zionist cartography—both the literal and figurative erasure of Palestinian villages and the modes of Zionist assimilation of this landscape.

Though her narration of "beginnings" regarding Zionist settlement in Palestine is wrought with the political correctness emblematic in the historiography of the events surrounding the foundations of the Zionist state, she does offer a reading of the formal literature on the subject, outlining the main points of reference in "the making of the Palestinian refugees." However, it is quite problematic that she begins this narrative with the 1947 United Nations Partition Plan, eliding the fundamental importance of the years of Zionist planning and two decades of British complicity in the project. She does, nevertheless, quote key Palestinian scholars in the field, including Walid Khalidi and Salman Abu Sitta—the only substantial part of her book that fully engages Palestinian voices. By relying on them, she frames her book with thoroughly researched Palestinian accounts of the dispossession of 418 Palestinian villages.

Kadman grounds her historical intervention with an academic survey of the theories of modern nationalism to explain both Zionist ideology and practice. Using this framework, she provides her reader with a clear understanding of Israel's political philosophy and how it influences the state's actions. Discussing the issue of national identity construction, she examines how the Zionist

project of "spatial socialization" has disappeared Palestinians from the Israeli landscape physically through land dispossession and sociohistorically.

Kadman's most interesting contribution can be found in her description of the work of Israeli bureaucracy, particularly in chapter four's exploration of the state's naming commissions and their political methodology of erasure *and* prevention. She explains the thinking of Zionist leaders in the immediate phase of state building in the 1950s: to erase Palestinian names and history was to erase Palestinian presence *and* to prevent the return of Palestinian refugees. Kadman's thorough analysis of the naming commissions and the politics behind them fits well into her argument, which considers Zionist practice as an ongoing process as opposed to an isolated historical event.

Kadman's analysis corroborates the work of historians who approach memory as a multilayered combination of the past and the present. In this sense, Kadman constructs the present through her discussion of the Israeli tourism industry as a core component of understanding the ongoing dispossession of Palestine. Chapter five traces the state's use of the tourism industry to fulfill the Zionist ideology of establishing a "bond to the land" through all available practical and rhetorical tools. This took the form of an intricate system of map making and land marking of public spaces (parks, preserves, hiking trails, and so forth).

The book's appendices, containing useful maps and lists of depopulated villages with pertinent historical details, are useful tools for understanding the enormity of the Israeli project of erasure and insertion. Kadman's argument clearly and coherently exposes Zionism as a violent settler-colonial project, showing how the process has functioned over time to eliminate the native Palestinian population.

It is important to point out that this book is exclusively the story of settlers and settlement: a reconstruction of settler violence and erasure, but also a reproduction of a kind of settler violence in its silencing. With few exceptions, Kadman has little to no engagement with Palestinian sources or voices. The idea of reconciliation, as inadequate as it already is conceptually and politically, is further limited through this silencing as a state reconciles exclusively with itself.

Rana Barakat is assistant professor of history and contemporary Arab studies at Birzeit University in Palestine. Her research interests include the history and historiography of colonialism, nationalism, and the culture of resistance. She is the author of a forthcoming book on the Buraq Revolt and the construction of a history of resistance in Palestine.
